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Notes on the Psychic Life of the Australian Aborigines. *By Professor A. P. Elkin, M.A., Ph.D., Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.*

KNOWLEDGE OF DISTANT EVENTS BY PSYCHIC MEANS.

We sometimes hear reports of the Aborigines' ability to know what is happening or has happened at a distance, without the possibility of assistance from any ordinary means of communication. Thus one white man of high position and sane outlook, who was convinced that the natives possessed this power, gave by way of illustration the case of his aboriginal manservant, whom he had brought south to Sydney, two thousand miles from his own country. While in Sydney, the native informed him one morning that his (the native's) wife had just given birth to a child. Asked the grounds for his statement, the Aborigine merely replied that he knew, and that later on his employer would know it was true. The latter put the matter out of his mind, but not very long after he received a letter from the north which, among other matters, referred to this event as having taken place about the time stated by the native. There are many cases like this which the white folk concerned believe can only be explained by some such principle as telepathy. If any readers of this article know of any such, the writer would be pleased to hear from them.

Now, whatever explanation we may give of many of the Aborigines' experiences and sources of knowledge, they would themselves supply a telepathic or animistic interpretation. Thus, a very able blackfellow on the North Coast of New South Wales, who would be classed as a karadji or "clever man", a term which also includes medicine-men, recently informed Mr. W. J. Enright and myself that he could cause another person to come along to or past him by concentrating his thoughts on that person for ten minutes or so. He added that he had done this successfully on several occasions. This reminds me of a frequent occurrence in Central Australia, which is somewhat similar in nature. A blackfellow, either for himself or a white person, myself, for example, desires to obtain some information from another native who is out of earshot—about half a mile away. The first thing to do is to attract the latter's attention, especially if he be looking in another direction. To do this, the former utters a low call which no whites whom I know believe can reach the ears of the distant native, and yet he soon turns and is ready to take part in a vigorous exhibition of sign language. Of course, it may be that the ears of Aborigines can detect low sound waves of which we should be quite unconscious, just as their eyes are trained to observe marks and impressions that we do not notice.

In some cases at least it does not seem necessary to resort to telepathy, even though that may yet be shown to be the true explanation. I refer especially to the system of foreknowledge which is associated with involuntary bodily movements.

FOREKNOWLEDGE AND INVOLUNTARY BODILY MOVEMENTS.

I first became aware of this in North-West Australia in 1927-1928, where it exists amongst all the tribes in the Kimberley Division. Mr. W. E. H. Stanner reported the same a year ago from the Daly River region in Northern Australia, and only recently I came across it on the North Coast of New South Wales. The principle is that a person experiences a twitching, an involuntary movement, in some muscle or part of the body. This is usually an intimation that some relation of the individual concerned will soon appear or visit him. Now in North-West Australia, and also in the Daly River region near by, the part of the body so affected is associated with a particular class of relation (own or tribal). This varies somewhat from tribe to tribe; thus, to take the tribes around La Grange, Walcott Inlet, Forrest River and Hall's Creek in the Kimberley Division, we find that in all four a twitching in the abdomen, more particularly in the vicinity of the navel, denotes a sister's child, or, except in the second tribe, a mother's brother; father is referred to by the upper arm in the second and third, and by the shoulders in the other two; the buttocks signify wife in the second and fourth tribes, but this relation is associated with the lower arm in the first; brothers and sisters are denoted by a movement in the calves of the leg in all except the La Grange tribe, in which they are signified by a twitching in the back, and so on. The Ungarinyin tribe at Walcott Inlet is the most precise, for it distinguishes in some cases between own and tribal relations; thus, an involuntary movement under the right arm-pit refers to own mother and mother's brother, whereas the left arm-pit refers to classificatory mother and mother's brother; likewise, the right and left calves of the leg refer to own and tribal brother (and sister) respectively.

We are not yet in a position to explain the association of these involuntary movements with particular groups of people, especially as it differs in different tribes; there is no doubt some traditional and social reason for the associations, but even so we need not suppose that the person approaching sends some telepathic message or influence to the other, which causes the particular part of the body to move, and so draw the latter's attention. What happens from the point of view of the observer is that the person who experiences the twitching at once withdraws his attention from everything around, looks at or thinks of the part affected, and therefore of the class of persons, one of whom he is likely to see; he goes into a state of meditation until the most likely one of these enters the centre of his consciousness. He is then satisfied, and goes on with whatever he was engaged previously. Apparently the results of such intimations and meditations are so often right as to justify the formation of generalizations. Though, of course, this may be merely a matter of the meditative choice between probabilities, the possibility of telepathic communication when in a state of receptivity from the actual oncoming person must not yet be ruled out of court.

On the North Coast of New South Wales a twitching in the right shoulder signifies a son, in the left shoulder, a daughter, in the elbow, a brother, and, according to some informants, there are other associations; the main point, however, is that if the person who experiences the *wayi*, as it is termed, pays attention, he will learn who is coming. A ringing in the ear is another form of *wayi*, or intimation; if this persists, it means that some relation is dead (Kattang tribe), and if attention be paid, the thought of who it is will come. As one informant said: he paid attention to such a *wayi*, and the thought of death came and said your Uncle "James" is dead—which proved to be correct.

Similarly, amongst the Nyul-Nyul and Bardi of Dampier Land, north of Broome, the term *bainman* is applied to that something inside a person which warns him of an approaching danger, e.g. that an enemy is about to spear him, or that he is about to tread upon a snake. An involuntary movement in the muscle or artery of the thigh is also *bainman*, and on such occasions a person must think what *bainman* has to say and then act on the information.

Now whatever be the ultimate explanation of these experiences and interpretations, it is at least clear that the Aborigines practise recollection and meditation, and that by

doing so they believe they receive correct information of what is happening at a distance or will happen in the near future.

TOTEMISM, DREAMING, FOREKNOWLEDGE AND THE DISTANT.

Now it is interesting that in the Manning and Hastings River tribes, there is an alternative word for the involuntary movement which is the occasion of an intimation of some happening; this is *wiugura* (or *wiugiri*), which also may be used for *bakwe*, totem, but the reason for this is no doubt that the totem warns or informs the totemite about what is happening elsewhere or will occur in the future. *Bakwe*, flesh, refers to the actual natural species, kangaroo *et cetera*, whereas *wiugura*, translated spirit, though not a man's spirit, denotes this function common to the totem and the involuntary bodily movement. We find a similar use of a term in the tribes of the Broome District, North-West Australia: *jaly* is the totem of the group and also a power within a person which gives him intimations of events that concern him and are likely to occur or indeed are already happening, *e.g.* that his employer is coming, or danger is imminent, and that his wife is unfaithful and so on.

Now one function of the totem, more particularly the totem of the local patrilineal group or of a cult group, is to intimate events and possibilities to, or concerning, the totemites. The totem may do this by appearing to the totemite either while the latter is awake or dreaming. Indeed, in many parts the totem is also called the "dreaming". In any case, the totem, as a man's "flesh", appears and warns him against danger, strengthens him in illness, or intimates that one of his clansfolk is sick. The Aborigines, with their totemistic view of nature and man according to which man and the natural species and phenomena share a common life and are mutually dependent, sees nothing incongruous in receiving information concerning each other through the totem either in its substance or in a vision.

But a person's "dreaming" not only represents himself and the members of his own clan in his own experiences, it is also a symbol of him in the dreams of other persons. This dream-totem is sometimes a special totem distinct from that of the local group or the cult-clan, but in any case, to see another person's dream-totem while asleep is to learn something about him.

This is so much part of the Aborigines' psychic life that they—even when civilized—frequently have dream-totems for white men, though the latter may know nothing about it. Thus the "dreaming" of the manager of one aboriginal settlement is wattle tree, so selected because some wattle trees have been planted in the front of his house, and therefore are appropriate symbols for him in dream life. An Aluridja informant in Central Australia said that to dream of water normally means that a white man will soon arrive, though it could refer to a blackfellow with water as his cult-totem and "dreaming". This informant had spent a good deal of time with whites, and may have associated them with their constant search for water in that region when travelling or looking for places to settle, or with their power always to have water when settled by means of tanks, bores and trains. The motor car is also a symbol of the white man; an Aboriginal in this same area dreamt one night of a motor car coming up to our camp, and next day two whites arrived on camels. The suggestion here is that the fortuitous sequence of the dream of the motor man and the arrival of the white men would establish the motor car as the symbol or "dreaming" of the latter.

IMPORTANCE OF ABORIGINAL DREAM-LIFE.

The phenomena of dream-totemism show the important part played by symbolism in the life of the Aborigines, more especially in the dream-life. Now it should be remembered that a dream to the Aborigines is not a passing fantasy, but a real objective experience in which time and space are no longer obstacles, and in which valuable information and help is gained by the dreamer. This information may refer to the sky world, especially in the case of a medicine-man, for he may visit that world in his dream;

or it may refer to himself or his fellows, or even to his child yet unborn. In the last case, the dream may show him the child that is to be his and is to be incarnated through his wife, or may show him the child's dream-totem. A sick person may even be cured in a dream; thus P.M., an Aborigine of the North Coast of New South Wales, when dying, assured his son that if he were sick or in trouble, he would be there (*i.e.* in a dream) to help him. For example, in one case the sick man saw the departed person in a dream blowing breath into the former's (that is, the dreamer's) nose; the next day he got up, restored to health. Howitt quotes a similar case: An old man of a coastal tribe on the Queensland-New South Wales border, "said, with much feeling, that he saw distinctly in sleep his little daughter, who had died a short time before, standing near him on the night after her death, and he said that once when sick he felt that she was near him, and that then he slept well and recovered".¹

The explanation of changes in the course of an illness may also be found in a dream; thus, a Sunday Island native (North-West Australia) who was very ill as a result of a septic condition which was manifest in the swollen glands in the neck, had a very bad night during which he was said to have had no sleep. He, however, maintained that he slept and dreamt that a green turtle with hands and feet hit him on the neck with a stone which passed right through his neck and caused the large swellings of the glands; he fortunately hit the turtle back in retaliation, and so had hopes of recovery.² An aboriginal woman in the Port Stephens district (N.S.W.), who was ill, dreamt of her totem, the female kangaroo; the latter carried a lovely young one in its pouch, which she pulled out. She then recovered.

THE CERTAINTY OF FAITH.

These examples show the depth of the Aborigines' faith in the manifestations of the dream-life. This is true also of their faith in other factors concerned with the cure of illness. The medicine-man, by his actions, sucking and extractions, and so on, gives the patient faith in life and recovery, a faith which must be generated never mind what other practical treatment be given. Moreover, the faith must be absolute. Thus, if a Kattang (North Coast of N.S.W.) medicine-man tells the patient to get up in the morning and go for water, or perform some other task, and the latter does so, he will find himself cured, but if he does not do so, he will never get better. A sick woman who hobbled about on a stick was taken to a sacred "magical" waterhole and thrown in, and her stick was thrown away. She struggled out, and was cured. One informant in this area said that when a person is sick and his totem comes near and makes a noise, the sick person's heart will be strengthened and he will say, "I shall live". This informant maintained that what made the patient better was his faith—himself—and not the medicine-man's treatment; he added that the totem was a sort of messenger from the sky-hero.

VISIONS AND TRANCES.

Allied to dreams are the visions of the waking life. These are most widely associated with a father's finding the spirit-child which is to be incarnated through his wife. While hunting or walking, he sees what he thinks is an animal, fish or some other natural species, but when he gets near realizes that the animal form has disappeared and that it was really a spirit-child. On the North Coast of New South Wales a somewhat similar experience, hallucinatory in nature, shows which one of the totems of the section of his child which has yet to be born, will be the child's totem. While the father is out in the bush or asleep he will see one of these totems in a mysterious form: *e.g.* it will be large and then vanish into air, as it were. It is interesting to notice that such visions

¹ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 437.

² He also proffered another explanation of the swellings, namely, that they were caused by the missionary's strong medicine fighting the sickness. The tribal medicine-man, however, had rubbed the swellings and extracted the badness, and so caused an improvement in his condition.



Fig. 1. *Camp Life in the Musgrave Ranges, South Australia.*

By courtesy of the Australian National Research Council.



Fig. 2. *Camp Life in the Musgrave Ranges, South Australia.*

By courtesy of the Australian National Research Council.



Fig. 1. *A group of Tanga children on the Reef.*

By courtesy of the Australian National Research Council.



Fig. 2. *Meme or decorating the Longsit. This structure was specially built to display and hold a vast quantity of food.*

By courtesy of the Australian National Research Council.

comply with a set pattern ; that is, the animal must be one of the group which belongs to the particular social section concerned.³ This must be true also of the experiences of postulants for the office of medicine-men when dreaming or in a state of trance. The general patterns of what happens, then, is common in almost all of the tribes for which we have information. Those who have been through it say they were killed, cut open, and had special insides given to them or magical additions made to their insides ; they were then healed and raised to life, taken to the sky to receive knowledge, and finally returned to their people in a somewhat dazed and "cranky" condition. Of course, this could all be an actual *ritual* experience, but as fasting and often, too, pain, are preludes to it, a dream or trance could well happen and the experience fit in with the pattern suggested by the medicine-men. It is not easy to get information on this very secret matter, but as many claim to have been made by spirits or a mythical water-or rainbow-serpent and to have visited the sky land, the induced trance conforming to a suggested pattern seems a reasonable explanation.

Medicine-men, as a class, or in some tribes a special sub-group of such, have the power of seeing and communing with the spirits of the dead—being seers or mediums. They can also see the spirit-double of the living. Now, one use to which they put either of these powers is to ascertain who caused a death by magic. Thus, in some tribes, the medicine-man may watch the corpse from a distance, for near it he will see the spirit of the "right man", the "murderer". Amongst the Kattang, the blood of the dead man is mixed with leaves and burnt, and the "murderer" can be seen in the smoke committing the crime. In the Forrest River district the medicine-man may see the spirit of the murderer around the tree-stage shaking a spear at the corpse which is on it ; or he may see the spirit of the dead man lingering near the "murderer". Thus the medicine-man is able to see the spirits of the dead and also the spirit-doubles of the living ; in such cases, it is probably a matter of directed imagination, for the medicine-man has usually grounds which are reasonable to him, and probably also to tribal authorities, for seeing the spirit of a particular person who thus is denoted as the murderer, condemned thereby to be the object of a revenge expedition.

ANIMISTIC AGENTS.

A medicine-man receives during his making certain spirit snakes, iguanas or other creatures which hereafter are at his disposal to gain knowledge of what is happening at a distance or to perform some of his wishes. Thus he claims, and his claim is acknowledged, to be able to send out his spirit familiar, which may normally reside in his inside, to enter another person and clear out his badness or illness, or he may send it forth to gather information on a certain subject. The faith of the patient will explain the working of the former, but in the latter case the medicine-man must get the information by practical means (collaboration with someone else), by meditation on all the information which he possesses, or by some unproved cause ; I did know a native who tested a medicine-man in this matter, and was convinced by his power. In the Broome district, which may be given as an example merely, *rai*, the term for these spirit-animals, is also the term for a person's spirit-double ; the latter can move about and tell a person whether anything wrong is happening in his country. Thus, it is really part of a man's self which overcomes the bonds of space and time. Since, too, the same term *rai* is applied in this area to the totem associated with the finding of a spirit-child, we see that there is believed to be a common factor in the totem, the spirit-double and the medicine-man's spirit-familiar. This is true elsewhere, as for example, in the coast of New South Wales. These three conceptions have to do with the psychic life, and the function of each is to warn, assist and strengthen the person concerned.

³ These tribes (Kumbaingeri, Dangeti, etc.) have four sections in which the members of the tribe are classified for purposes of marriage and descent, and between which natural species are divided. Vide A. P. Elkin, *Studies in Australian Totemism*, pp. 114, 135, also unpublished field notes.

CONCLUSION.

I have done little more than refer to some of the claims made quite as a matter of course by the Aborigines with regard to psychic powers possessed by them, either in general or by specially endowed individuals such as medicine-men. They know what is happening at a distance or will happen in the future, with, and sometimes without, the aid of a mysterious power within them, involuntary bodily movements, spirit-doubles, totems or spirit-familiars. The explanation may in some cases lie along the line of meditation and a state of receptivity, or it may require some such explanation as mental telepathy. The importance of the dream-life and of visions has been emphasized, and mention has been made of the traditionally and socially conditioned patterns and purpose of dreams and visions. Up to the present very little research of value has been made into this aspect of aboriginal life, and it is therefore to be hoped that both trained field workers and also other folk who are in constant association with natives will observe and report the facts and conditions with care, and also sympathetically discuss these psychic experiences with the Aborigines themselves.

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Melanesia : Social Anthropology.

Bell.

The Play Life of the Tanga. By F. L. S. Bell.

The recreational side of native life is a much neglected aspect of primitive culture. We are constantly being offered studies of primitive warfare, primitive law and primitive magic, indeed so constantly that there is a tendency for us to think of the native only as a savage warrior with an irrational fear of the unknown. In actual fact, the native is nothing of the sort. He is, like ourselves, a human being, and again, like ourselves, he has his leisure hours which he fills by playing games, singing songs or telling tales.

As a child the native of Tanga¹ spends the greater part of his waking hours in play. When his parents leave the beach settlement in the morning for the garden lands which lie inland, he and his brothers and sisters up to the age of twelve stay at home and play under the watchful eye of their grandfather. They are often joined in their games by other children from neighbouring settlements, but a play group rarely exceeds ten in number.

Some of the boys may go fishing for small fry in the reef pools with small rods and lines baited with spider's web. A couple of the girls make for an overhanging pandanus branch from which a vine is suspended. They hitch a short length of bamboo to the hanging vine and are soon swinging to their heart's content. Some of the smaller boys ask their grandfather to fashion them a spinning top (*an gus gus ku*) from a hemispherical coconut shell. Others pest him for an *am bai bai* or whistling disc toy, which is propelled by a string which passes through two holes in the disc and which is then passed over the extended hands of the player.

A favourite pastime of the girls is making toys from coconut fronds. Several strands are cunningly woven so as to produce a wriggling snake. A wind toy, the arms of which suggest its name (*an ku quid*, i.e. the feelers of the octopus), is another favourite product of native ingenuity. Whistles, flutes and clappers are among the chief noise-producing toys, whilst a log suspended over the channel in the reef makes an excellent jumping off place for such children as are fond of the water.

All children are not keen on swimming, and most of them have to be carefully coached in the art of swimming. Peculiar to say, the first stroke which they learn is called *kukum/pul*, i.e. the paddle of the dog, and is an exact imitation of our own dog paddle. Later on they learn a somewhat modified overarm stroke. The breast stroke is used only by swimmers who wish to swim to the bottom of a deep hole.

¹ Tanga is a group of islands off the east coast of New Ireland, Mandated Territory of New Guinea. The author carried out field work in Tanga during 1933 on behalf of the Australian National Research Council.

Much of the play of children is imitative of adult activities. Whenever there has been a big feast in the neighbourhood and many parties have passed through the settlement carrying pigs and shouting out in vainworthy fashion, it is no uncommon sight the next day to see several children struggling under the weight of a dead coconut palm branch and filling the air with their childish trebles. In the same way, I have watched three little boys arguing over the various stages in house-building. I have also watched a group of boys and girls playing at *dafal*, which is normally a most impressive puberty rite.

Here and there in the bush one comes across perfect examples of native "cubby" houses or miniature play houses. Investigation of one of these houses will show that it is fitted up with native beds and other useful articles such as combs, dance masks, lime containers, fishing gear and small musical instruments. As far as I could tell, such a structure performs a similar function to the doll's house in our society. It is an essential element of the child's world of make-believe and a bulwark against the prying eyes of the adult.

The play activities of little girls between twelve and fourteen years of age are considerably restricted owing to the fact that they have to look after their young brothers and sisters up to three and four years old. This sometimes entails their following their parents to the gardens.

Boys and girls up to eight years old seem to have common play interests, but after this age they separate into two different play groups, and with the exception of some erotic dances, these boys and girls rarely carry out any group activity in common during the whole of their subsequent lives. Boys seem to have a much longer play period in their lives, and it is not till they are sixteen and seventeen years of age that their parents insist on their helping in the common economic tasks of the village.

So far we have merely sketched in the background of native play. Let us now examine some concrete instances of organized games.

SONG AND ACTION GAMES.

One of the most popular games among the smaller children is hide-and-seek. The player who is the seeker lies prone on the ground whilst one of the others sits astride his back. This latter player then sings the following rhyme, at the same time slapping the back of the recumbent player :

He bites you, he bites you.
Yes, he is eating your back,
This insect which smells.
But don't get up. Tell me :
Who is hitting you now ?

The recumbent player then speaks the name of one of the players, and on being named this person scurries off into the bush and hides himself. This goes on until only the player who is astride the seeker is left. When his name is called he too seeks a hiding place, and so the hunt begins. In order to make it easier for the seeker, some of the hiders imitate the calls of birds. The seeker is represented as one who has been bitten by a *kudik* beetle, and the hiders take the part of the beetle which is attempting to conceal itself from the anger of its victim.

A game often played by adolescent boys is *toka pul*. The players form two lines facing each other. One player grasps the opposite player's wrists in such a way as to form a seat, the whole line thus forming a laneway of human chairs. The odd player then mounts the end chair and attempts to run along the lane of outstretched hands. The linked couples move their arms and do all they can to make the runner fall to the ground. It is a most exciting game, and calls for much athletic prowess on the part of the odd player.

It is not correct to assume that children are the only participants in organized sport. *Lipor* is one of those rare games in which adult men and women join during important ceremonial feasts.

The game is started by one player called *an la:pi*² kneeling with bent head and crossed hands in the centre of a ring of men and women, who dance around him with clasped hands. After they have danced to the singing of *Lipor, Lipor, Lipor* for a while, one will shout to the *la:pi*:

An la:pi tifik ma:r

(The *la:pi* is not ripe yet !)

Soon after, the man in the centre rises from his knees, but still bows his head and keeps his hands clasped over his abdomen. Then one of the players will call out :

An la:pi sau ma:r

(The *la:pi* is now ripe).

The man in the centre then unfolds his clasped hands and raises his head. After another revolution of the ring of dancers, one will call out :

*Eri en bo wa:n Lufunkomo*³

(All are eating pig at Lufunkomo.)

The man then makes a dash in the direction of the hamlet named. The ring of dancers endeavour to prevent him from escaping, and if they succeed, he has to go back to the centre and wait for another call to another hamlet. If he succeeds in breaking the clasped hands of a member of the ring and escapes through the circle, all the dancers unloose their hands and chase him. If he is caught, he is returned to the centre of the ring. If he gets away, the man or woman who allowed him to escape becomes *la:pi* and the game starts all over again.

The next game which I shall describe is chiefly interesting in that it demonstrates the part played in native play by a game's leader. The game is called *büt/an/kinit* or feast/of the/dead, and it is played by a small group of young children of mixed sex. The favourite time for playing this game is during the silent hours of the morning in the absence of all adults from the village. It takes place inside the women's house, and under the direction of an elder sister who, for some reason, has not gone to the gardens.

She arranges her players in a circle near the open hearth and, smoothing out the white ashes, cups up about seven little mounds with her hand. The children are told to close their eyes tight and the leader then tells them that each mound is :

"A basket of food for Kinehrlam,

A basket of food for Milasiaro",

and so on until she has given them the names of seven recently dead people. She then commences to talk about ghosts, and says :

"Where do the dead men stand ?

They stand at Manuan."⁴

She then hides her face quickly, and after an instant raises her head and says :

"Where do the dead men stand ?

They stand at Tenkwien."⁵

She continues in this way until she has brought the ghosts outside the house. She then says :

"Where do the dead men stand ?

They stand close to us."

By this time all the children are shivering with fear at the proximity of the ghosts. The play leader then announces that the ghosts are at the very door of the house.

² A wild fruit.

³ Name of village.

^{4 5} These are hamlets along the beach, each one named being closer to the house than the last named.

She thereupon grabs up some of the ashes and sprinkles them on all of the players, who crouch with bowed heads and tight-shut eyes, and also on herself. She then throws a small stone at the door to make the ghosts depart, at the same time disturbing all the little mounds which represent the food of the dead. She then bows her head, and after an interval she looks up and exclaims: "Ha! the ghosts have eaten up the food, and look, there are little bits of food all over you and me."

The children raise their heads and look about with frightened eyes. They refuse to leave the house because ghosts have the reputation of "eating the wind of small children".

There are three other examples of native song and action games. One of these is called *sekor lae-i* (I sing of the past), and the actions of the players represent the actions of a gatherer of wild fruit. The performers sit in a circle and form a column of hands by grasping in turn each other's extended forefingers.

Each action is accompanied by a rhyme, and the game is concluded by the singer of the last rhyme in the cycle breaking the column of hands and tickling his neighbour. I have seen this game played on the beach in the moonlight by children whose parents were attending dance rehearsals.

It was followed by a game called *ti pa:ka na pa:pa:* (get a feather and fly away). The participants were not confined to any particular age or sex group. They formed a double line and faced each other. Each opposed pair of players clapped hands, sang a line of the ditty belonging to the game, and then, clasping each other's hands, turned right about and again sang, *i.e.* whilst back to back, another line of the ditty. The whole effect could be compared to nothing better than that produced by a modern eurythmic dance, so perfect was the synchronization of song and motion.

The final example of this type of game is called *mis-mis*. It is played by young children, who squat in a circle with their legs doubled underneath them and their arms folded behind their backs. This is an unnatural position, purposely adopted to cause the leg joints and the arm joints to "crack".

One of the players has in his closed fist a small shell. He and all the other players unfold their arms and begin to rub their thighs to the accompaniment of the following rhyme:

Mis, Mis, Mis, Mis,
I rub, I rub, I rub, I rub
Gina ngusun-sa:lu,
Close to my knee-cap
Lima, lima karon
In my hand, in my hand I hold a sweet-smelling herb,
Lae, tut pa:ket keke tibumtamat
You there, break the leg of your grandfather.
Ma sokeru, ma sok iau
And hit both of us, and hit me.

At the conclusion of this song all bend their backs towards the centre of the circle, so that their heads are touching. The player who has the shell then passes it on to the one on his right, who then leads them all in the song and action. This goes on until the shell returns to the player who originally held it. He then throws it away and calls out:

Tut pa:ket keke Nebingit
Break the leg of Nebingit.

The name selected is that of an old man whose legs "crack" as he walks. The leader then hits first his left knee then his right, and so on right around the circle. He says *fa:nge fan:ge, et cetera* (break, break) as he hits each knee. Other names are called, and other players have their turn at hitting each other's knees.

Eventually a player rises from his cramped position and, extending his arms and legs with a jerk, tries to make them "crack". If he fails, he is classed as a *fiu*,⁶ but if he succeeds he is termed a *kinit*.⁷ The other players rise in turn, and in due course join the ranks of the *fiu* or the *kinit*. The *fiu* perform the symbolic action of entering a canoe by sitting astride a length of bamboo, and the *kinit* do likewise. Each party collects some old leaves and twigs and a few ashes. These represent areca nut and betel-pepper and lime. The two "crews" now approach each other, the *kinit* making a clucking sound. They offer each other the areca nut and lime and amid much hilarity both parties reject the symbolic areca nut with mock disgust.

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS.

This completes our survey of Tangan song and action games, and before proceeding to an account of competitive team games, it may be useful to note a few of the more characteristic aspects of the former.

Every game is a reflection of distinctive features in the life of the native. In the case of the hide-and-seek game, there is a dramatization of what must be a very common event, to wit the irritant bite of the *ankudik* beetle. The native player is not merely content with the pleasure of outwitting the seeker, but must add to it the delicious fear of being caught by one upon whom he has inflicted imaginary pain.

Again, in the case of the game called *lipor*, we have another instance of the players using their intimate knowledge of botanic growth to regulate the tempo of the game. As the *la:pi* grows so does the game increase in suspense, until at last the principal player is induced by the attraction offered by a feast to break the ring of players. At the mention of the feast, the player becomes violently agitated and makes strenuous efforts to reach the village named. The very fact that a feast is used to produce such a crisis in the game is surely an indication of the special social value of the feast in this society.

As with us, some natives have more outstanding personalities than others, and in the playing of games of the song-and-action type, a leader with an attractive personality takes an important part. Indeed, it can be laid down as a general rule that every kind of organized Tangan game has associated with it a play leader.

The game played by the small children under the guidance of their elder sister is a real "bogey-man" type of play, so much deprecated in these days by students of child life. Apparently, fear of the ghosts is regarded in Tanga as one of those mental attitudes proper to all good citizens, and therefore a game which inspires this fear in the very young has the stamp of social approval.

In the *sekor lae-i* game we recognize a very common feature of many of our own games, i.e. the excitement attendant upon the luck of the draw; the anticipation of who is going to be odd man out.

The last game described is full of allusions to native magico-religious ideas. The "cracking" of the joints is believed to indicate the presence of spirits and difference in the two types of ghosts known to the Tanga is emphasized in the play by the difference in the noises which they make and in the mock disgust with which one group of ghosts greets the friendly overtures of the other.

In discussing the play of Manus children, Dr. Mead⁸ has referred to it as "dull and unimaginative". She emphasizes the fact that the parents have adopted a negative attitude towards their children's play so that they are not stimulated to play imaginatively, i.e. invent imaginary situations and base their play upon them. From what I have said in the earlier part of this article, and from other knowledge which I have of children's play in Tanga, I don't think that this criticism can be used with respect to this culture.

⁶ A *fiu* is a ghost of one who has met a violent death.

⁷ A *kinit* is a ghost of one who has died normally.

⁸ Mead, M., *Growing up in New Guinea*, Chapter VII.

When the Tanga child is playing at feast-making he repeats in fantasy the actions of his elders. An observer can have no doubt from the serious air of the players that the children are in a different world—the world of make-believe.

Dr. Mead also discovered that the Manus children did not personalize material objects in the way children in our society do. For example, when she referred to a canoe as a bad canoe for drifting away from its anchorage, the children could not understand her attributing personal qualities to an inanimate object.

Here again, I cannot say that Tanga children do not personalize material objects. I have seen little girls fondly setting up in their miniature playhouses highly coloured seeds decorated so as to represent beneficent mythological beings. I have also seen little boys carefully decorating large seed pods so as to represent the initiates in a certain puberty rite. These pods are installed in miniature enclosures, and gifts of food are made to them during the course of the play.

For the student of primitive life, the chief interest in the imitative play of native children lies in its obvious educational value. The primitive child's school is its playground, and his playground is everywhere.

As Dr. Miller says: "In the primitive culture, play is the most adequate introduction to life, and imitation the indispensable medium by which that culture is made continuous, preserved, and may become the basis of further accumulation and increase."⁹

F. L. S. BELL.

(To be concluded.)

Australia: Material Culture.

Davidson.

The Geographical Distribution Theory and Australian Culture. By Dr. D. S. Davidson, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.

In a recent number of this Journal appeared an article, "The Geographical Distribution Theory and Australian Material Culture" (Vol. 2, No. 1, 1936), by Mr. F. D. McCarthy, who reviews in detail a number of my recent papers on Australian material culture.¹ It is indeed gratifying to note his general acceptance of my conclusions, particularly since many of them are controversial and depend upon archaeological investigation, so neglected in Australia, for ultimate substantiation. It also is a pleasure to acknowledge his many points of constructive criticism, which add to the support of the conclusions expressed. However, he has made a few points with which I do not agree, and it is with these that this communication is concerned.

First, it is said on the basis of remarks made by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown² that the geographical distribution theory has failed in respect to social organization. In this I cannot concur. Prof. Radcliffe-Brown admits that the development of the eight sub-section system from the four-section system is "fairly obvious and hardly to be disputed", and accepts the conclusions that the two systems are indigenous to Australia. He also agrees that the moiety system is not an Australian development, but we differ as to where it may have come from. He dismisses great gaps in time and space and suggests India, but criticizes me because I attempt to trace it to nearby Melanesia. In respect to initiation rites, he allows that the suggested chronologies are plausible. These points have been discussed in more detail elsewhere.³

To turn now to some specific criticisms by Mr. McCarthy, the objection is made that I have not correlated fully the various chronologies in material culture with the

⁹ Miller, N., *The Child in Primitive Society*, p. 151.

¹ Australian Netting and Basketry Techniques, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1933, XLII. 4: Australian Spear Traits and Their Derivations, *ibid*, 1934, XLIII. 2, 3: The Chronology of Australian Watercraft, *ibid*, 1935, XLIV, 1-4.

² Review of Davidson, D. S., *The Chronological Aspects of Certain Australian Social Institutions as Inferred from Geographical Distribution*, Philadelphia, Pa., 1928, *Oceania*, I. 3. 1930.

³ Davidson, D. S., *The Geographical Distribution Theory and Australian Social Culture*, *American Anthropologist*.

migrations of Tasmanians, Australians, Papuans, Melanesians and Malays. That precisely is what I would like to be able to do, but such a task involves our most ultimate problems. It is not a difficult matter to assign certain traits to the two latest cultures, the Melanesian and the Malay, for their influences came to different parts of the continent, and are partly historic. It also seems fairly clear that certain other traits now found in Papua and Queensland, but lacking in Torres Strait, represent pre-Melanesian diffusions across Torres Strait. We also can assign other traits to the Tasmanians, who lack the culture elements which have arrived in or which have been developed in Australia since the Tasmanians became isolated. However, when we attempt to determine just who is responsible for many ancient traits of non-Australian origin it is by no means clear whether they were brought in by Australians or diffused subsequently by Papuans. For the present, therefore, it would seem that we should proceed on the working hypotheses (1) that those traits of common appearance in Australia or confined to several peripheral areas but lacking in New Guinea, either are indigenous or have been brought in by invading Australians, and (2) that those traits of widespread or even of continental distribution and also present in New Guinea have diffused from Papua. These hypotheses can be refined as more information is collected and a better understanding of the problems develops. Thus in respect to the many non-contiguous appearances in Australia, New Guinea and the Melanesian Islands of spears with barbs cut in the solid, separated by regions in which detachable barbs prevail, the facts suggest that the former are of a common origin and reached their present distribution by diffusion before their contiguity in distribution was broken by the subsequent diffusion of detachable barbs. Mr. McCarthy maintains that the former were present at one time in south-western Australia, for which there is no evidence as yet, and thus once were continentally distributed. But even if archæology should show them to have been present, it would not necessarily follow that they had been brought in by Australians, for an early diffusion from Papua would still be indicated by distributional evidence.

It also is said that I do not take into consideration the possibility of more than one migration of Australians. Such a possibility has been considered,⁴ but I know of no criteria at present by which we can distinguish such movements. It seems not unlikely that Australians may have filtered into the continent over a period of centuries, perhaps millennia, but if the various migrant groups were characterized by differences in culture, the evidence has not been collected, and, it would seem, cannot be gathered except possibly in stratified archæological deposits.

Mr. McCarthy claims that the spicules of stone in "death" spears in reality are detachable barbs, and should be classified with the wooden and bone types. I fail to see any logical reason for such a classification if thereby we are to assume a historical relationship. The technical principles of the two are entirely different. The stone spicules involve the principle of cutting as the spear-head enters and *leaves* the body. The principle of barbs is to hold the spear in the wound. Secondly, the manner of hafting differs. The stones are gummed, the barbs lashed by string or sinew. Nor does distributional evidence support the claim of direct historical relationship, but it does suggest that the peripherally located "death" spears are older than spears with detachable barbs, and have been replaced over a wide area by the latter, or by spears with barbs cut in the solid which preceded the latter. However, as I pointed out, the exact chronological relationship between "death" spears and spears with barbs cut in the solid is not convincingly demonstrated by distributional evidence because of the very widespread and confusing distributions of the two as we now know them. I stated further that I was inclined to consider "death" spears as older because they appear in some peripheral areas where barbs cut in the solid are lacking, because they seem to be a direct development from the simple spear, and because they may be related to the weapons studded with shark teeth which appear to be very old in the Pacific areas. I did not say that the *principle* of "death" spears necessarily originated in Australia,

⁴ For instance, see my Spear paper, pp. 154, 155.

but suggested that stone chips, not reported elsewhere, may have been first applied there.

It also is claimed that according to my theory there must be an intimate historical relationship between the projection pegs of spear-throwers and detachable barbs. I know of no reason why such a relationship must exist, nor can I find any evidence that such a relationship does exist. The two traits involve entirely different purposes, and thus are not fairly comparable. Furthermore, the means of attachment are only partially similar, and when we take into consideration that the Australians are limited by custom to string or gum whether they are mounting barbs, pegs, adzes or axes, similarity in means of attachment seems of incidental significance.

Mr. McCarthy is inclined to believe that the detachable projection pegs originated in Australia. If so, it would seem that there can be no historical relationship between them and detachable barbs, as he claims, for the latter apparently have diffused from New Guinea in relatively recent times, and it is difficult to believe that they could have been responsible for almost the complete disappearance of the solid type of projection peg. However, we cannot be certain that the detachable projection pegs originated in Australia for, although they are not reported for modern New Guinea, their distribution includes the Cape York Peninsula and Torres Strait, and it may be that they were used in New Guinea in former times. This question is a moot one at present.

It also is maintained by Mr. McCarthy that spear-throwers were brought in by Australians or invented by them in Australia. The evidence does not support this contention, for aside from the fact that spear-throwers, although of somewhat different form, are present in New Guinea and the Pelew Islands, thus indicating a former more widespread use outside of Australia, the facts seem to demonstrate that these weapons have arrived in peripheral Australian areas in relatively recent times, and, therefore, were not a common possession of the early Australians.⁵

Mr. McCarthy interprets the double-pointed bones found archæologically in coastal sites in south-eastern Australia as bone barbs for spears. That bone barbs were present in this region is supported by other evidence, but it does not follow necessarily that these artifacts were used in the same way. It seems to be well established that at least some of them were employed as gorges. The finding of specimens in arid interior regions would greatly strengthen the claim that some of them were barbs.

The various points of criticism discussed herein are most heartily welcomed, for differences in opinion constitute the greatest stimulus to the gathering of more evidence and to the refinement of methods of interpretation. Since information is woefully meagre for many parts of Australia, the solutions to many problems are obscure, and some misinterpretations are inevitable. Nevertheless it seems better to attempt to answer them rather than not to proceed at all, for if present errors lead to the collecting of data which will rectify them, they will have served a good purpose. Ultimately, it is hoped, archæology will provide us with a means of checking the chronologies of material traits as indicated by distributional evidence.

D. S. DAVIDSON.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES : PROCEEDINGS

The Secret Life of a New Guinea Melanesian People. *Summary of a paper read before the Society by W. C. Groves, B.A., Dip.Ed., on 19th May, 1936.*¹

The lecturer emphasised the sensitivity of primitive folk to investigations into their occult life and pointed out that the difference between the spiritual life and beliefs of Europeans and those of primitive Melanesians was a difference of type rather than degree. The concept of "holiness" is not foreign to the "lowly savage".

⁵ This point has been discussed by the writer in "The Spearthrower in Australia", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. Vol. 76, No. 4, 1936.

¹ A full transcript of this lecture will appear in a forthcoming issue of *Oceania*.

The focal point of much of the secret life of New Ireland is the *malagan*. This is a rite intimately connected with death, and to these people, as with us, death is the mystery of all mysteries and it is only natural that the most elaborate practices of the secret life should be centred upon the dead.

In order to emphasise how careful the natives are to preserve the continuity of life here on this earth and there in the spirit world, the lecturer described a cremation ceremony; a dance by men got up to represent reincarnated ancestors and a rite in connection with the attachment of a sacred float to a fishing net.

Among other magico-religious practices detailed by the lecturer were the rites performed over a newborn babe and the action taken by a medicine man to ward off rain. One of the most widespread beliefs in New Guinea is that there are certain harmful spirits (*marsalai*) connected with certain areas. Mr. Groves gave us details of the actions of these *marsalai* and the means adopted by the natives to propitiate them. Reverting to the *malagan* rites, he said that "*malagan* is so important in the social life of the natives of New Ireland region that its disappearance will materially accelerate social disintegration". The native at present cannot conceive living without performing the *malagan* rites.

In the concluding part of his lecture, Mr. Groves pointed out the significance of these secret beliefs and ceremonies. The secret life is interwoven with all other strands of the culture texture; it binds the culture together. It is the chief force of integration. Invasion of the secret life should not necessarily mean despair and disintegration for primitive people, if the process of change is regulated in accordance with a policy of wisdom and understanding on the part of those European agencies concerned with the direction of the future of the natives.

The Bow and Arrow. *Summary of a lecture delivered before the Society by Prof. A. N. St. G. Burkitt, M.B., B.Sc., on 21st July, 1936.*

Many primitive races have used the bow, but, in general, we may say that it is rarely effective at any range over fifty yards. Various African tribes, the Bhils of Central India and many of the tribes of New Guinea and Melanesia have developed a simple type of bow. These may be contrasted with the higher types evolved by the mediæval English who used the yew bow; and the Turks and Persians who used a composite bow built up of wood, sinew and horn. The Chinese and Tartars also used a composite horn bow, whilst the Japanese used a long composite wooden bow, built up of bamboo, birch, etc., and elaborately bound and lacquered. Of all these people, the Japanese alone have retained their mediæval knowledge and skill in archery, and archery is still practised in Japan, partly as a sport and partly with a ceremonial and spiritual import.

The English bow made of yew derives its efficiency from the fact that it is really a composite bow, and that the outer layer of yew wood is strongly resistant to splintering, and forms an efficient backing, while the inner or heart wood, which is compressible, has extremely good elastic properties. As a result, a powerful yew bow with a pull of 75 to 90 pounds will shoot from 250 to 300 yards, and a special flight arrow could be shot up to 400 yards. The English yew bow also had the advantage over various composite bows that it could be made much more easily. The English or Mediterranean method of drawing the bow with three fingers to the left of the bow, as well as the length of the English bow, gives this bow a slight advantage as regards ease of use and aim, over the shorter composite bow of the Turk.

The Turks seem to have developed the most powerful bow of any nation. Indeed, the Turkish bow was so powerful and its recoil so rapid that special flight arrows were sent as far as 600 yards, and it was quite a common feat to shoot an arrow 400 to 500 yards. These flight arrows were beautifully made, barrelled in shape, with very small and soft feathers, an ivory or light metal head, and a specially made neck of wood and sinew.

The Japanese use a very long bow up to seven feet in length. On firing, the bow is allowed to rotate in the left hand so that the string finally hits against the back of the left arm. The bows are reflex in shape, and the most powerful of them can shoot 300 to 400 yards. The Japanese also have miniature sets of arrows and a small whalebone bow. The arrow heads are of well made steel, and are very unpleasant weapons at close quarters. The professor concluded his lecture by referring the audience to several books on archery, including *Archery*, by various authors, in the Badminton Library Series; *The Book of Archery*, by G. Hansard; *Modern Archery*, by A. W. Lambert; and *Bows and Arrows*, by S. T. Pope.

Recent Advances in the Prehistory of the Far East. *Summary of a lecture delivered before the Society by Prof. J. L. Shellshear, M.B., Ch.M., on 18th August, 1936.*

In his lecture Professor Shellshear dealt with three main aspects of the work: (1) The exact methods of excavation adopted; (2) the preservation and protection of prehistoric sites; (3) the discoveries and relationships of types of ancient man in the Far East, including *Sinanthropus*, *Pithecanthropus* and *Homo sapiens*. He stated that certain types of stone implements in Australia closely resembled those of the Far East, but as yet little could be said about this similarity because of the lack of accurate and detailed excavation work in Australia. It is the task of all interested, especially the members of the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, to bring about the preservation as national monuments of all sites of prehistoric value, such as midden deposits, rock paintings and carvings. The lecture was accompanied by an exhibit of the literature upon the archaeology of the Far East, and of specimens from the Australian Museum collection. A cast of the tooth of *Sinanthropus* was also on display.

Mr. F. D. McCarthy, in moving a vote of thanks, supported the remarks of Prof. Shellshear in regard to the need for the proper protection of aboriginal relics in Australia. The work of the Dutch, French and Chinese prehistorians in the Far East and Malayan Archipelago was a lesson to Australia. It was deplorable to think of the amount of destruction of rock carvings and paintings that had already taken place, and it was the duty of this Society, and all interested, to have such relics of the Aborigine preserved for posterity as national monuments. Prof. A. N. Burkitt, in seconding the motion, stated that Australia was decades behind the rest of the world in the science of archæology, and he hoped that the lecturer's remarks would be the foundation of a more scientific attitude to this subject in Australia.

At the conclusion of the lecture a special meeting was held to consider the revision of the Constitution and By-laws of the Society. The revision was adopted without amendment.

Fiji and the Fijians. *Summary of a lecture delivered before the Society by C. W. Mann, M.A., on 15th September, 1936.*

After exhibiting a film which covered every aspect of life in modern Fiji, the lecturer referred to the excellent work done for the natives by both government and mission. He also emphasised the fact that the preservation of the ancient system of land tenure has had a lot to do with the persistence of native culture in Fiji.

Mr. Mann referred in glowing terms to the high educational standard reached by the Fijian, and strongly advocated the teaching of the vernacular language in the native schools. He concluded his talk by stressing the importance of the chief, whose word, even to this day, in Fiji is law.

Australian Rock Paintings and Carvings. *Summary of a lecture delivered before the Society by W. J. Enright, B.A., on 20th October, 1936.*

The rock carvings of the Aborigines was one of the phases of the lives of our native race to be first noted in the literature of our State. Dr. White, in 1788 observed them on the 16th April, 1788, at Port Jackson. In his "Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales", p. 141, he refers to rock carvings at Port Jackson.

Tench says: "On many of the rocks are also to be found delineations of the figures of men and birds very poorly cut." (Tench, "Narr. Expd. to Botany Bay", London, 1789, p. 79). Governor Phillip, in his work "Voyage to Botany Bay", London, 1789, p. 106, says: "The figures of animals, of shields and weapons, and even of men, have been carved upon the rocks roughly indeed, but sufficiently well to ascertain very fully what was the object intended. Fish were often represented, and in one place the form of a large lizard was sketched out with tolerable accuracy."

Carvings of that class exist over a large area of New South Wales covered by the Triassic rocks known as the Hawkesbury sandstone. Outside of that area few rocks in New South Wales lend themselves to that form of art. The exceptions known to me are the Triassic rocks area of Gunnedah and the sandstones found in various places between Corambah (N.S.W.) and the Queensland border.

Paintings have been noted (so far as I know) near Kyogle, but I have never heard of the existence of any carvings.

Carvings by the incised method were made over the greater part of New South Wales on trees at the ceremonial grounds and in a few instances they were noted on graves. The only incised carvings on stone that I know of are in the Western District of New South Wales on the cylindro-conical stones found in the West Darling country.

In the Western District of New South Wales carvings were made on implements, but in the lower north coast none were made except those called *memberra*, which were in the nature of an owner's mark.

Oxley, in 1817, noted carved trees on the Lachlan River, but those marks bear no resemblance to any I have seen on the coast. They do, however, resemble some on the Bora ground described by Henderson.

Other explorers have since referred to works of aboriginal art in various parts of Australia.

R. H. Matthews read his paper before the Royal Society of N.S.W. on 1st August, 1895, entitled *On the Aboriginal Rock Carvings and Paintings of N.S.W.* That paper was, however, never published as read, nor was any portion of it, so far as I know, published in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of N.S.W. In a letter to Worsnop he stated he described fifty caves and forty carvings. (Possibly he meant sets of carvings.)

I have, however, reason to believe that the material contained therein was read before and published by the following societies:

Anthropological Society, Washington.

Australian Rock Pictures, Vol. VIII, pp. 268-278.

Australian Ground Tree Drawings, Vol. IX, pp. 33-49.

Royal Society of N.S.W.

Rock Paintings by the Aborigines, Caves, etc., Vol. XXVII, pp. 353-358.

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.

Rock Carvings and Paintings of the Australian Aborigines, Vol. XXXV, pp. 466-478.

Aboriginal Rock Pictures, Queensland, Vol. XL, pp. 57-58.

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, London.

Rock Paintings and Carvings of the Australian Aborigines, Vol. XXVI, pp. 145-163.

Rock Paintings and Carvings of the Australian Aborigines, Vol. XXVII, pp. 532-541.

Queensland Geographical Journal.

Aboriginal Rock Pictures of Australia, Vol. X, pp. 46-70.

Rock Pictures of the Australian Aborigines, Vol. XI, pp. 9-11.

Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.

Gravures et Peintures sur Rochers par les Aborigines d'Australie, Tome IX, Série IV, pp. 425-432.

Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland.

Rock Carvings of the Australian Aborigines, Vol. XII, pp. 77-83.

Royal Society of Victoria.

Aboriginal Rock Paintings and Carvings, Vol. VII (n.s.), pp. 143-156.

Journal of Transactions of the Victorian Institute, London.

Pictorial Art Among the Australian Aborigines, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 291-310.

Etheridge wrote a comprehensive work on them, but all confessed that they were unable to get any key to their interpretation.

Professor Elkin, in 1930, was, I believe, the first to throw any light upon the subject when he explained the use of certain paintings he found in north-west Australia.

Ursula McConnell recently discovered the meaning of certain paintings in north-west Queensland. Following on clues I received from the work of those authors, I discovered that certain rock carvings represent dream totems of the owners of the ground on which they were made. Certain hands stencilled in white were made to indicate the ownership of the cave where they appeared. Other drawings in black were tabu marks. The red hands sometimes indicated the direction in which a party was travelling, and their number, and in conjunction with other paintings, told the story of an event, and other drawings were a message from a *karaji*. The information to hand gives every promise of giving a solution of the question so far as eastern New South Wales is concerned.

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, 1936. *Summary of the report delivered at the annual meeting of the Society, 20th October, 1936.*

The year 1935-1936 has been a significant one in the development of the Society, for two important and progressive steps were taken, namely, the issue of the journal, MANKIND, in a new and greatly improved form, and the adoption of a new Constitution and By-laws.

The Rules Revision Committee, consisting of Mr. C. C. Towle (Chairman), Miss E. Bramell, Messrs. T. Pincombe, R. H. Goddard and F. D. McCarthy, submitted a revised Constitution and By-laws in May, 1936. Our thanks are extended to Mr. C. C. Towle, to whom great credit is due for the able manner in which he organized the work of the revision, and to the members of the Rules Revision Committee, for the care taken to ensure that every need of the Society would be covered in its new Constitution and By-laws, which was adopted at a special general meeting held on 18th August.

Three parts of the Society's journal, MANKIND, Vol. I, No. 12, Vol. II, Nos. 1 and 2, and the title page and index to Vol. I were issued during the year under the supervision of the Editorial Committee, consisting of Mr. F. L. S. Bell, M.A. (Editor), Messrs. E. Ramsden and F. D. McCarthy. Favourable comment upon recent issues has been expressed in many quarters, e.g. by the editor of *Oceania* in Vol. VI, Pt. 4 of that journal; the hon. secretary of the Anthropological Society of South Australia, and others, on the journal in its present form, and inquiries have been made by institutions and societies abroad who wish to arrange exchanges.

Action was taken by the Society to protect groups of rock carvings at Malabar and Woy Woy which were endangered by road building operations, and a group at Berowra which was imperilled by the granting of a quarrying lease. The statement in our seventh annual report for 1934-1935 to the effect that the preservation of the rock carvings and paintings can only be satisfactorily dealt with as part of a National Reserves and Monuments Act, such as are in force in other countries, must be reiterated.

In accordance with instructions from the President, the Honorary Secretary of the Society, in May, 1935, notified the Victorian and South Australian societies that our Society had adopted the constitution and by-laws of the proposed A.A.A., and had agreed to become affiliated with the A.A.A. when it is formed. The Victorian Society, through its hon. secretary, signified agreement with the constitution sent to it, but the South Australian society submitted a number of amendments, which were considered by a sub-committee of our Society, and were incorporated in the proposed constitution. This new form of the old constitution was again posted to Victoria and South Australia for consideration. The Victorian society replied, in March, 1936, that it was being placed before a special sub-committee; all three societies have now agreed that the matter be discussed at the meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science in Auckland, January, 1937.

Miss Phyllis Kaberry, M.A., carried out research work in Western Australia, Miss Olive Pink in Central Australia, and Mrs. C. E. Tennant-Kelly on the south coast of New South Wales, on behalf of the Australian National Research Council. Prof. A. P. Elkin and Mr. W. J. Enright have continued their work amongst the natives on the north coast of New South Wales, Mr. C. C. Towle upon New South Wales stone implements, Mr. R. H. Goddard upon rock paintings and carvings at Yanco, New South Wales, and Mr. Leo Austen upon a megalithic site in the Trobriand Islands. Prof. J. L. Shellshear, Mr. F. D. McCarthy and Miss E. Bramell, of the Australian Museum, have made a preliminary survey of aboriginal kitchen middens and cave deposits in the Hawkesbury sandstone district near Sydney. Prof. A. P. Elkin and Mr. F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist of Papua, have recently returned from Hawaii, where they attended a congress, as delegates from Australia, upon the education of native races.

A joint excursion with the Rangers' League was held on 19th July, and rock carvings in National Park were inspected.

The Society had a credit balance in the bank on 30th September.

Miss E. Bramell and Mr. R. H. Goddard were appointed delegates of the Society to the congress to be held in Auckland in January, 1936.

Nine ordinary and one special meeting of the Council were held during the year.

Prof. A. P. Elkin was granted leave of absence as from July-August, 1936, and Mrs. C. E. Tennant-Kelly from June-August, 1936. Dr. Wardlaw was unable to attend several meetings on account of illness.

One annual general meeting, eight ordinary, and three special meetings were held during the year, and one special meeting convened for 2nd June lapsed owing to there not being a quorum present.

For details of these meetings the reader is referred to previous proceedings of the Society.

Council, on behalf of the Society, desires to thank the lecturers who have contributed to such an interesting and valuable programme of addresses, many of which are the results of first-hand research work in the field.

Native Peoples of the Sepik Basin. *Summary of a lecture delivered before the Society by the Rev. Father F. J. Kirschbaum, 10th November, 1936.*

Two big groups of languages are recognized to exist in New Guinea—the Melanesian, a mixture of languages Austronesian in origin, with Papuan elements, and the Papuan, a large group of languages dissimilar in phonetics and grammar to the Melanesian. These two groups bear little linguistic relationship to one another. The term Papuan is a negative one, and it remains to be seen whether it can be given a positive significance. A certain structural uniformity exists in the placing of the object and attributive possessive in front of the verb, in the formation of cases on substantives by the use of suffixes, and the accumulation of verbal stems. Papuan languages may, again, be divided into two groups, those with and those without noun classes; the former is of a most complex nature, one language having twenty distinct noun classes. A study of the counting systems reveals at least four different principles at work, one of the most interesting being that of the Banaro on the Keram River, where parts of the body are indicated in numeral explanation.

The cause of this Babylonian chaos in New Guinea is to be found in the many migrations of different peoples into and through the country in bygone times; all have left traces of their coming. The isolation of various tribes resulted in their independent development and thus brought about the present state of linguistic confusion.

The same causative factors lie behind the cultures of New Guinea which are as manifold and heterogeneous as the languages are diverse. The finding of certain prehistoric objects such as stone pestles, mortars and club heads not used for their original purpose by the present inhabitants, and the existence of both square and round-sided axes points to an early Indonesian penetration of the country from the north. The presence of pigmy peoples, remarkable for their practice of horticulture, in the centre of the island suggests that they are probably the oldest living residents. Then there are all the other mixed cultures—briefly, the totemic Papuan and the dual class Melanesian.

Besides those which seem to have come from the north, there is evidence of a Polynesian migration from the south by means of the big rivers of Papua, across the central mountains and into the Sepik River area, where the highest form of material culture in New Guinea has developed. An affinity of the Tuospeaking peoples with the Polynesians is not unlikely when one considers mythological and linguistic evidence, their fondness for the goldlip shell ornament not shared by northern neighbours, but found in the south, and the existence of certain southern trade routes. Again, the megalithic monuments show closer similarity to Polynesian than Indonesian types.

Of the interior little is known, and it must be borne in mind that the Papuans, too, may be a mixture of pigmy and other elements.

REVIEWS

Marsden and the Missions. *By Eric Ramsden. Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1936. 295 pp., illust.*

Personally, I prefer to think of this book by its sub-title: *Prelude to Waitangi*. Although Mr. Marsden has left no stone unturned to reveal the true history of the Rev. Samuel Marsden in the affairs of the Maori people, yet the chief attraction of the book is not Marsden and his missionary work. The book has far more importance as an account, and a critical account at that, of the reaction of a native people to an alien civilization.

Every genuine student of culture contact, no matter whether the scene of the contact be Africa,

America or Oceania, has come to realize the outstanding significance of the Christian commandment to spread the Gospel among all the nations. Perhaps no other single command has had such an immense effect upon the evolution of human society.

In the case of New Zealand, missionaries of the Anglican, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic church heeded the command, and as a result those elements in the native culture which were vital to its existence, i.e. the magico-religious beliefs and practices of the natives, were ruthlessly destroyed. Mr. Ramsden has traced the effects of the Christian (?) teaching on the native population, and has fully demonstrated the maze of contradictory situations

which confronted the Maori. Apart from the fact that much of the Calvinistic teaching was wholly repugnant to a noble people who had already adjusted themselves to their particular environment, the character of many of the "bearers of the Cross" was not calculated to raise the prestige of the white race among an alien people.

As we read of the troubles among the natives, we are reminded that the two chief causes of all such disturbances in primitive society are land and women, and in the case of New Zealand, the situation was further complicated by the sometimes well-meant, and at others, evil-intentioned interference of the early missionaries.

However, the story which Mr. Ramsden has given us of Marsden's efforts to bring our civilization to the Maori stamps him as one of those rare human beings who have the ability to understand and sympathize with an alien people. With Marsden, the spirit of Christianity always came before the doctrine, and he always believed that the arts of civilization should precede the benefits of religion.

Some indication of the quality of this book may be gained from the fact that Dr. Peter Buck, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Sydney and Director of the Bishop Museum, has seen fit to write the Introduction.

The author has collected in this volume a mountain of evidence relating to the social evolution of the modern Maori, and his work is a distinct contribution to an understanding of the problem of culture contact in New Zealand.

F. L. S. BELL.

Aboriginal Australian and Tasmanian Rock Carvings and Paintings. By Dr. D. S. Davidson. *American Philosophical Society, Memoir V*, 1936, pp. 151, plates (coloured) I-VI, figs. 1-62.

Dr. Davidson has added to his already comprehensive studies on Australian material culture by the recent publication of what forms the first monograph of aboriginal rock carvings and paintings. The author summarizes the recorded groups of petroglyphs and pictographs, and a large number of illustrations are reproduced to give as complete as possible a range of the designs and motifs which occur throughout the continent. He discusses the techniques employed, the form and style displayed, and the antiquity of these interesting records of our aborigines. In addition, distribution maps of the known groups of carvings and paintings are included, and an excellent bibliography is appended. Records of new groups of paintings and carvings at Delamere, north-west Australia, are published for the first time.

The reader of this work must be impressed by the wealth of aboriginal art of this nature in Australia. New South Wales, in particular, has a heritage of aboriginal carvings and paintings of great variety and importance. The need for the preservation of such sites is urgent, for much disfigurement, even destruction, of them has taken place. Complete protection by legislation, declaring rock carvings and paintings national monuments, with severe penalties for vandalism, is a matter that is now being given attention in various states. Dr. Davidson's monograph is, therefore, published at a most opportune time.

(Copies of this work may be obtained from Mr. Milford, c/o Oxford University Press, Amen House, Warwick Square, London, E.C.4., at the Australian price of fourteen shillings and ninepence.)

F. D. MCCARTHY.

Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits. Vol. I. General Ethnography. By A. C. Haddon. Cambridge, 1935. 421 pp., xi plates, 50 figs. Price, £2.

The Cambridge expedition produced methods of approach to anthropological field work which have had a far-reaching effect upon the study of primitive peoples, and the published volumes contain a remarkably complete record of the culture of the Torres Straits islanders. The present volume, which completes the work, includes additional data upon many subjects. Its great value lies in the analysis of the culture of Torres Straits and of its origin and relationships. The volume is divided into three parts. Part I contains an historical sketch and a description of the geography of Torres Straits and the ethnography of the various islands; Part II deals with the ethnography of Western Papua, South Netherlands, New Guinea and North Queensland; Part III is devoted to additions to the general ethnography of Torres Straits, and to a discussion of cultural affinities of specific traits. Thus the volume in itself forms an extremely valuable addition to our knowledge of the material culture of the north-west Pacific region, and is of special interest to those interested in the question of culture diffusion into Australia from New Guinea and Torres Straits.

In a discussion of the migration routes of peoples from Indonesia to New Guinea and Australia, Dr. Haddon says: "If the land were raised in the Sahul and Sunda areas to a height of 600 feet there would be a relatively small central sea (the Banda deep), which doubtless would be mainly smooth water for a considerable period of the year, as it is very largely surrounded by land. The southern islands form an almost continuous chain, and thus voyagers in small craft, such as canoes, and even rafts, could readily have passed from Asia to Australia. We may assume that the latest Australian immigrants into the continent spoke languages of the North Australian linguistic group and that a branch of these may have reached the area forming the western islands of Torres Straits, but apparently this branch did not enter New Guinea. After their arrival the continental shelf became entirely submerged, and therefore Australia (except at Cape York) could be visited only by small parties in sea-going boats. Accepting the foregoing as a working hypothesis, we may further assume that the earliest ulotrichous stocks reached Papua-Australia by eastern land extensions, through Celebes and Halmahera, i.e., east of the Banda deep, and crossing to New Guinea, entered north-east Australia. They may have passed to Tasmania east of the cordillera. Later ulotrichi may be regarded as having reached New Guinea by the same route, but if any of them arrived in Australia they must have done so in such small numbers as not to affect the ethnic characters of the Queenslanders. I have found a slight trace of brachycephalism in the north of Cape York Peninsula

which may be due to such a movement Obviously, on the whole I agree with Rivers (a gradual infiltration of seafaring peoples, starting from points on the coast . . .) but not necessarily with all the implications he probably had in his mind. Baldwin Spencer regards the higher culture of the tribes he studied as being due to a local evolution, but very few ethnologists would concur with him.

It is generally admitted that the first inhabitants of the Papua-Australian continent were varieties of woolly-haired (ulotrichous) man, arriving, like all subsequent migrations . . . by way of Indonesia. Probably there were several varieties, some of whom were very short (pigmy), others of short or medium stature, all of whom now exhibit a tendency to vary in head breadth . . . Dr. H. J. T. Blymer's view may now be accepted that the pigmoid Papuans and the taller Papuans are two groups of the same stock . . . This stock may be termed "Negrito-Papuan", or "Papuan" for short.

The now extinct Tasmanian falls naturally into this group, and may be regarded as a somewhat generalized variety of the Negrito-Papuan stock, which at a very early date crossed Australia and became isolated in Tasmania by the formation of Bass Strait before the Australians reached so far south. Baldwin Spencer thinks they may have entered at the north-east of Australia in Pliocene or very early Pleistocene times; Edgeworth David places their arrival in Tasmania between 20,000 and 100,000 years ago.

Griffith Taylor . . . believes that, later than the above migration, the first horde of Australians arrived in a Pleistocene ice age when Sunda and Sahul lands were dry ground. They and later migrations probably drifted to the south-east along the then great rivers of the interior between the deserts of the north-west and the temperate jungles of central New South Wales. Subsequently the attractive central portion of Australia, the ancient corridor, became almost a desert and a thick forest of inland New South Wales became open, grassy plains . . .

The cultural traits that Austronesian-speaking peoples brought from Indonesia to New Guinea on their way to Melanesia have spread over a considerable part of that island. By secondary diffusions, whatever routes they took or whatever migrations they underwent, some of these traits reached the southern coasts of New Guinea and influenced the Torres Straits islanders. It also seems probable that numerous elements brought by the Australian culture-bearers had their source in this cultural trend.

F. D. MCCARTHY.

Heritage of the Bounty. By H. L. Shapiro. Gallancy, London, 1936. 320 pp., illust.

To the extensive and growing literature relating to Pitcairn's Island has been added "Heritage of the Bounty", the story of the islanders through six generations, by Dr. H. L. Shapiro, Associate Curator of the American Museum of Natural History.

Dr. Shapiro set himself a difficult task: he endeavoured, while attempting to compile certain scientific information of interest to anthropologists

throughout the world, to write at the same time what the publishers claim, and rightly, too, to be "a first-rate travel book of the finest sort". The author shares with Dr. Margaret Mead (now in Bali), another member of that Museum's staff, a facility for writing first-rate journalism. "Heritage of the Bounty" is, therefore, in addition to being a compendium of facts, of equal interest to the type of person who regards anthropology as something quite beyond his comprehension.

As early as 1922, when an undergraduate at Harvard, Dr. Shapiro became interested in the story of the *Bounty* mutineers and their descendants. Opportunity to visit Pitcairn did not come, however, until 1934-35. The present volume is the result of a short though exceedingly informative stay towards the close of the former year. Previously, Dr. Shapiro had spent some time on Norfolk Island, and his researches are on record.

The book is divided into the following sections: personal, an introductory chapter which deals with his first day on Pitcairn; historical, wherein is recorded a fascinating account of the dictatorship of that old rascal, Joshua Hill; cultural, three chapters relating to a Victorian Eden and what happened to the islanders when they devoured "the apple"; biological, an important study of the effects of the Anglo-Polynesian cross and the debatable problem of inbreeding; and, finally, extracts from his own journal.

Figures supplied by Dr. Shapiro indicate "a very rapid increase in inbreeding to the point where the index is practically the same as that for the offspring of a brother-sister marriage". This, naturally enough, leads the reader to ask: Have the highly inbred matings of the islanders debilitated the stock? Dr. Shapiro answers that question when he emphatically states that the Pitcairners are robust and healthy, their medical record is good, and there is no evidence of degeneration or abnormalities of physical structure, and he writes enthusiastically of their average intelligence.

Dr. Shapiro has dealt with a fascinating theme, one of the most interesting biological and social experiments in the history of the British Empire, in an essentially human way, and one that must appeal to all readers of Polynesian literature. He is to be congratulated on so successfully bringing the story of the *Bounty* descendants up to date, and the publishers are to be commended for producing such a splendid, well illustrated book. It is a volume that should be on the shelves of anyone interested in the story of mankind.

ERIC RAMSDEN.

Dafal. By F. L. S. Bell. *Jour. Polyn. Soc.*, XLV, 1936, 83-98.

Dafal is the custom of confining, for reasons of family pride, young girls or boys approaching puberty in small houses for a period of some twelve months. The subjects are incarcerated in small light-proof cages for sleeping, and adhere to strict tabus. At the end of the period, they emerge with a changed social personality, and their family reaps considerable prestige from the fact that they have introduced a new member into adult society and provided much food and many presents to celebrate the event.

Redress of Wrongs in South-west New Britain.
By J. A. Todd. *Oceania*, VI, 1936, 401-440.

Ceremonial combats and vituperation, argument and discussion, sorcery and certain customs related to a secret society of the past are the chief means whereby an injured individual seeks satisfaction. That the fear of shame acts as a deterrent to wrongdoing is exemplified in many quoted instances.

Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific. Camilla H. Wedgwood. *Oceania*, VI, 1936, 359-391; VII, 1936, 1-33.

A concise account of the social, political and economic life of the people before the coming of the white man and the effect upon it of cultural contact of the past fifty years. Particular attention is given to the marriage laws, rank, ownership, inheritance and the transitional rites associated with birth, puberty, marriage and death.

Notes on Nauru. By Ernest Stephen. *Oceania*, VII, 1936, 34-63.

A collection of interesting data compiled in 1902-1903 on many phases of old Nauruan life by an early resident of the island.

Spirit Children and Spirit-Centres of the North Kimberley Division. By Phyllis M. Kaberry. *Oceania*, VI, 392-400.

A summary of the native views on procreation in Central and North-West Australia.

A Note on Djamindjung Kinship and Totemism. By W. E. H. Stanner. *Oceania*, VI, 1936, 441-451.

The characteristic features of this tribe are their possession of the subsection form of social organization on the basis of a kinship system of the Aranda type, matrilineal social totemism and patrilineal local totemism with conceptional and probably cult aspects.

Totemic Hero Cults in Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland. By Ursula H. McConnel. *Oceania*, VI, 1936, 452-477; VII, 1936, 69-105.

An analysis of totemism in Cape York Peninsula and the Torres Straits Islands. The author maintains that hero-cults are an integral part of the totemic complex, and that it is only attendant features such as elaborate dances rather than the cult itself that have been introduced into Australia from the north.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS

Millstone from Gravel Deposit near Warren.

Sir,—A lower millstone, found about four feet down in a deposit of small water-worn gravel on the red soil plain on Mumblebone Station, eighteen miles north of Warren, has been presented to the National Museum, Melbourne, by Mr. D. Toland, the Shire Engineer of Marthaguy Shire.

It is quite possible that the stone may have become buried at this comparatively shallow depth, and that it is not contemporary with the deposition of the gravel; nevertheless, it is desirable that the circumstances of its finding should be recorded.

The stone, which is of indurated sandstone, is about six and a half inches long, three and a half inches wide, and two inches deep. On one face there is the usual semi-spherical hollow, and on the other a deep "husking hole". One side has been broken away, so that only about three-quarters of the mill hollow remains. The whole stone has been considerably abraded since it was broken. The abrasion is typical of that caused by rolling in gravel, and does not appear to have been due to usage.

The gravel deposit is about 100 yards long, and seems to lie in a channel thirty or thirty-five feet wide and about four to eight feet deep. The top of the gravel is flush with the surface of the plane, which is quite flat. There are several other such deposits within ten miles in either direction, all approximately in a line which follows the general fall of the country. There is no indication that they are connected with any existing watercourse. They are several miles from the Macquarie River, and not near any creek. The age of the gravel has not been determined, but it certainly does not appear to be recent. Even the Macquarie River

itself does not now bring down anything heavier than silt.

There seems to be no doubt that the stone actually was about four feet down from the surface, at a point where the gravel was about four feet six inches deep. The gravel was being removed for road making, and was first ploughed before being dug out. The implement was found on the fourth cut with the plough. It was found in May, 1935. The site was visited by the writer during February, 1936, with Mr. Toland, who was able to give me full particulars about the finding of the implement, and much information about the gravel deposits. The writer saw also W. McNab, who had been supervising the removal of the gravel at the time, and he confirmed the statement that the implement was undoubtedly about four feet down, and was uncovered on the fourth cut with the plough.

D. A. CASEY.

Aboriginal Architecture.

Sir,—Hidden away in the Barrier Ranges on K. Tank holding (H.L. 1509), about twenty miles from Broken Hill, stands the framework of a native "wurlie" which has withstood the ravages of wind and weather for over seventy years.

When the original boundary fence between the Mount Gipps and Kinchega holdings was being constructed in 1866, this unoccupied residence was observed and the name, "Blackfellow's Paddock", was given to this locality, and the name and the hut still exist today.

The present leaseholder has known the hut for over forty years, and can see very little alteration in it over that period. It still stands firm and solid,

the mulga sticks are showing very little sign of decay, and it looks good for another fifty years.

Although of apparently simple construction, the sticks are locked together so skilfully that very little movement can be noticed in the whole structure, a wonderful tribute to the architectural ability of the native, whose experiences through thousands of years have taught him how to build a stable and lasting home. It is certain that a white man would not produce a structure of sticks to equal the stability and durability of this framework.



Judging by the markings, the mulga sticks have been cut with a "white-fellow" axe, and this enables one to fix the date of the building within certain limits. Captain Charles Sturt passed through this locality in 1845. The next advent of white men was during the years 1858-1860, and as the hut was known, but abandoned, in 1866, it must have been built some time between 1845 and 1865.

In any case, it has been known to the white man since 1866, and is an interesting example of native art and craftsmanship.

E. B. DOW.

Dr. Davidson and Distribution.

Sir,—In respect to social organization and totemic systems, I can only refer readers to the critical review of Dr. Davidson's paper in *Oceania*, I, 3, 1930, pp. 366-370.

Dr. Davidson's fuller explanation, given above, of his opinion of the various diffusions of material culture into Australia, and their relationships with peoples who have come into the continent or have affected it culturally, contributes considerably to the elucidation of this puzzling question. His working hypothesis, however, still omits consideration of traits present in Torres Straits and Australia, but not in New Guinea. The question of the respective origins of introduced traits, so far as Australia is concerned, is indeed a difficult one, and cannot be fully unravelled until the lines of migration and diffusion in New Guinea are better understood.

Dr. Davidson has misinterpreted my statements in respect to the distribution of barbs-cut-in-the-solid. I meant that the distribution of this type of barb in Western Australia is outflanked by the attaching of barbs (stone) and spear-thrower pegs in south-western Australia. I cannot agree with this author in his opinion that the attaching of stone spicules to the death spears is not connected with the principle of detached barbs because of the slight technical difference in their respective means of attachment to the spear shaft; in both methods, gum-cement is used, and the longer and more efficient wooden and bone barbs are bound with sinew in addition. Part of the function of the stone spicules, like the wooden and bone barbs, is to hold the spear in the wound. My point is that the principle of attaching barbs (stone, wood and bone, and spear-thrower pegs) is probably subsequent to barbs-cut-in-the-solid, so that the sequence is: plain point, barbs-cut-in-solid, detachable barbs. However, it is possible that one or more of these traits may have been introduced into Australia other than via Cape York, e.g., the Kimberleys area, which is one from which certain important elements of Australian culture have disseminated. Again, if we accept Rivers's theory of small bands of immigrant people arriving by chance at various points of the north Australian coastline, then we have a number of centres from which traits could diffuse, so that, *whichever* sequence we adopt can only be a tentative one.

Dr. Davidson, in his argument *re* the relationship between the attaching of pegs to spear-throwers and detachable barbs on spears is not quite consistent. On the one hand, he maintains that because the stone spicules are attached to the death-spears in a slightly different manner to the bone and wooden barbs, they are not related; on the other hand, although the pegs are attached to the spear-throwers in exactly the same way as the detachable wooden and bone barbs to the spears, he claims there is no relationship between the two because of the limitations of the aborigines to gum and sinew (or string) for such purposes. If relationship is to be decided upon technical methods of attachment, then my contention must be accepted. In this connection, also, it is reasonable to believe that the detached pegs replaced pegs-cut-in-the-solid on spear-throwers at the same time, or as a result of the same diffusion of the attaching of spear barbs, i.e. of the principle of attachment.

Since writing my review of Dr. Davidson's series of papers, I have learnt that spear-throwers, of a similar type to those used in Cape York, are employed by the Marind (Tugeri) of southern Dutch New Guinea for ritual purposes. Whether the spear-thrower in New Guinea is a survival from the period when Australoid peoples lived in that island prior to the Papuan invasion (assuming this to have been the case) and the Australians brought it with them into this continent, or whether it has diffused since they arrived in Australia, is a moot point, because its universal use here and the large number of local types that has developed indicate that it is a very old trait.

F. D. MCCARTHY.

Have You Paid Your Subscription for 1936-1937?

Members are again notified that subscriptions for the ensuing year (ten shillings) became due on 1st October, 1936, and Council would be grateful if subscriptions were forwarded to the Hon. Secretary or Hon. Treasurer as soon as possible. Prompt payment of subscriptions will save officers a great deal of time, and will enable the Society to plan more effectively its future activities.

Activities of the Society.

Council has under consideration the holding of an exhibition, and of a film night, during 1937.

Drive for New Members.

Although the membership of the Society has increased in the past few years, Council is of opinion that a much greater increase can be made if each member will attempt to secure one more member. It is the President's aim to double the membership of the Society during his term of office, and we appeal to our members to do their utmost to assist him in this commendable project. A nomination form is enclosed in this issue of MANKIND—why not see if you can use it? The Hon. Secretary will be pleased to forward additional forms if required.

Our Society: Financial Position, 1936.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1936.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Postage	10	12	1	By Balance Brought Down ..	25	14	8
„ Stationery	2	2	0	„ Subscriptions	43	0	0
„ Printing	56	11	3	„ Subscriptions in Advance ..	6	10	0
„ Operator's Fees	3	15	0	„ Magazine Sales	3	10	6
„ Electric Light	2	15	0	„ Bank Interest	0	8	11
„ Attendant	7	15	0	„ Exchange	0	3	3
				„ Balance Carried Down ..	4	3	0
	£83	10	4		£83	10	4
To Balance Brought Down	£4	3	0				

Audited and found correct.

H. R. RABONE,
Auditor.

R. H. GODDARD,
Hon. Treasurer.

BALANCE SHEET.
AS AT 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1936.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions Paid in Advance ..	9	0	0	Cash at Bank	20	9	2
Accrued Expenses	18	12	10	Petty Cash	3	0	8
				Excess of Expenditure over Income	4	3	0
	£27	12	10		£27	12	10

I have examined the books and vouchers of the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, and I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge and belief the above Balance Sheet correctly sets out the position of the Society as at 30th September, 1936.

H. R. RABONE,
Auditor.